The Effect of Social Context, Social Structure, and Social Capital on International Migration from Mexico

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The social network concepts, theories, and methodologies developed during the 20th century have successfully infiltrated the field of sociology, and today's sociologists proceed with the awareness of the essential part these concepts play in the mechanics of social structures and the understanding of social phenomena. One extremely popular concept related to social networks is "social capital," which is used to explain the possible benefits (tangible and intangible) that individuals may acquire as a result of their membership in a social network (Bourdieu,1986; Coleman, 1988). Even though the concept of "social capital" is widely used, it is still so "abstract" that Ronald Burt (2001_a) argues that it is used mostly as a "metaphor" for advantage (pg.2-3):

> The people who do better are somehow better connected. Certain people or certain groups are connected to certain others, trusting certain others, obligated to support certain others, dependent on exchange with certain others. Holding a certain position in the structure of these exchanges can be an asset in its own right. That asset is social capital….social structure is a kind of capital that can create for certain individuals or groups a competitive advantage in pursuing their ends. Better connected people enjoy higher returns.

Often it is not clear whether the use of the concept of "social capital" is used to explain the presence of a social structure or a social process, or a possible tangible or intangible outcome. Although the concept of social capital carries considerable potential for the sociological field, therefore, it is still in its early stages and needs to be developed further.

Concepts and theories of social capital and social networks have been recently applied to a number of diverse settings in order to discern what social capital truly means (e.g., Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Burt 1992; Putnam, 1993). As these arguments were crystallizing, the field of international migration also adopted the social network theory and the

concept of social capital to explain social exchanges that facilitate migratory flows (Massey et al 1987;170-71).

Social capital derived from migrant network help people to migrate across international borders successfully with or without legal documents. At the same time, the production of social capital through social networks also contributes to the process of cumulative causation. It is through this process that entire communities are affected by each subsequent migratory wave, such that they experience socioeconomic, cultural, and infrastructural transformations that make additional migration more likely (Reichert 1982; Massey 1990; Massey and Zenteno 1999; Kandel and Massey 2002).

This paper seeks to show that the effect of social capital depends on the social network structure in which it develops and that, depending on the context in which a network form social capital can be more or less powerful in determining certain outcomes. I argue that social context, social structure, and social capital are interrelated and that international migration studies should pay more attention to network structure when attempting to understand how social capital is diffused, and when modeling its effects.

According to Burt (2000: 4), the key issue is "what it means to be 'better connected." For some sociological fields where the unit of analysis is very well defined, this issue is not so important. However, I argue that in the arena of international migration, identifying the nature and operation of network connections is crucial. As Durkheim (1933) and Wirth (1938) both noted, social outcomes and mechanisms differ dramatically depending on the social context – hence their fear that industrialization would make social solidarity disappear or at least change radically.

In this paper, I use special network data collected in four communities in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico, (two rural villages, a town, and a city) to examine how social context – in particular community size – affects the structure of social networks and the way they operate to produce social capital. the importance of the relationship of social context, social structure, social capital, and social networks theory and concepts. First I explore the types of social structure that may exist among migrants in different settings. Then, I relate type of structure to the size of the community of origin of the migrant. Finally, I relate the social structure and the social context to the particular outcomes among migrants.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The economist Glenn Loury (1977) was the first to use the concept of "social capital." It was later expanded and elaborated by the sociologists Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988.). While Bourdieu defined social capital as a resource that results from social structure, Coleman (1988) argue that "[s]ocial capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure" (S98). Furthermore, Coleman argues, "the function identified by the concept of 'social capital' is the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests (S101)."

Coleman (1998) attempts to separate social capital conceptually from social structure. Specifically, he states that, "By identifying this function of certain aspects of social structure, the concept of social capital constitutes both an aid in accounting for different outcomes at the level of individual actors and an aid toward making the micro-to-macro transitions without

elaborating the social structural details through which this occurs (S101)." Coleman admits that social capital depends on the social structure, but he also argues that what is important is that the social capital phenomenon takes place, and that there is no need to elaborate all the characteristics of the network structure, which is what sociologists have historically done. I argue, however, that depending on social network structure, social capital can have very different effects on patterns and processes of international migration.

For example, migrants from rural villages possess lower average levels of education and fewer skills than migrants from urban areas. It is also easier for urban origin migrants to gain access to credit and to obtain a tourist visa than migrants from rural areas (Flores et al, 2004). If one takes seriously the arguments of Durkheim ([1933], 1984) and Wirth (1938), one would expect to observe more individualistic social behavior among migrants from urban settings, compared with those who migrate from rural settings. Thus, the structure of social networks and their operation to generate social capital may be expected to differ between rural and urban spheres.

The first task of this paper is therefore to identify which types of social networks develop among migrants from rural and urban places of origin. Given that emigration from Mexico to the United States has historically been mostly dominated by rural places and lacking datasets that provide accurate measures of network structure, sociologists presently know relatively little about how migrant social networks are formed in rural and urban areas. Although it may be surmised that rural origin migrant are enmeshed in dense, closed networks, only a handful of research projects have examined network structure among migrants of urban origin.

Massey et al, (1987) concluded that a metropolitan area in Jalisco had "no indigenous tradition of U.S. migration. Its link to the United States was through networks based in the small

towns from which its inhabitants originally came (pg. 108)." Additionally, Roberts and his colleagues (1999) found that people in urban areas develop individualized migratory strategies, that produced weaker networks. They also found that migrants from urban areas tended to rely on social support from their rural origin communities to migrate.

Hernandez-Leon (1999) investigated the urban migrant networks from Monterrey to Houston, Texas, and concluded that cohesive migrant networks from urban communities do develop, but only among specialized groups, such as migrant gang members. Flores (2000) likewise found significant differences in the likelihood of receiving migratory help from relatives, friends and *paisanos* depending on the size of and the place of origin of the migrants. Specifically, help provided to migrants of rural origins was characterized by extensive support from friends and *paisanos,* whereas those from urban areas received assistance only from relatives. Flores (2005) also found that urban migrants' networks were weak and mostly effective for helping migrants get to the U.S.. Once in the U.S., however, urban migrants gravitated to already establish rural-based networks through a process that she called the "clique effect."

Prior research thus suggests that the optimal structure for migration and settlement in the U.S. is a cohesive, homogenous, and clique-like network, and that to the extent that urban origin migrants are <u>not</u> embedded in such networks, they turn to rural-based networks for assistance. According to Flores (2005), Durkheim's ([1933], 1984) "mechanical solidarity," Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) "enforceable trust," and Massey et al's (1987) use of the term *paisano* represent social mechanisms that play a major role in developing solidarity relations among migrants. For example, one can see upon close examination that Bourdieu's (1986) definition of

social capital exemplifies features of "mechanical solidarity" originally defined by Durkheim. Bourdieu's definition states that:

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group –which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and /or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc. and those who undergo them; in this case, they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges. Being based on indissolubly material and symbolic exchanges of proximity, they are also partially irreducible to objective relations of proximity in physical (geographical) space or even in economic and social space (pg. 249).

In the organizational literature, Burt (2000) defines "clique networks" as small, dense, homogenous, non-hierarchical networks associated with leisure activities, a lack of social capital, and poor manager performance (pg. 67). His main finding is that these networks are associated with inferior performance. The organizational literature thus agrees with the argument that members of dense, homogenous, closed, and clique-like networks are at a disadvantage because of the redundancy of information that flows among network members. In general, immigrant networks tend to be more homogenous than those in the native population (Wierzbicki, 2004), and sociological studies of segregation emphasize the disadvantages of living in places without social bridges to a more diverse set of people outside of neighborhoods (i.e., Massey and Denton, 1992).

The organizational literature has generally emphasized advantages of open, non-dense heterogeneous networks, led by Granovetter's (1973) strength of weak ties hypothesis. He argues when it comes to finding a job that the quality of information spread by weaker ties (acquaintances) in open network structures is better than that spread by strong ties in closed

networks, which tends to be redundant, and therefore of low utility in finding work. The fact that new information flows through open networks offers more and better opportunities to the members of the network. The "strength of weak ties" has been demonstrated empirically at both the micro and macro levels. Weak ties provide workers with a better chance of finding jobs at the micro level, and for diffusing ideas at the macro level. Therefore, networks that are open, of low density, and heterogeneous are generally thought to yield social capital of better quality, leading ultimately to better economic outcomes.

In this paper I argue that, in contrast to claims in the organizational literature that dense, clique-like, homogenous networks are advantageous to people seeking to emigrate internationally, especially without documents. Among Mexican migrants in particular, features of network structure such as density and homogeneity play a positive role in crossing the border and securing employment in the Unites States. According to Passel (2005) "as of March 2005 the undocumented population" in the U.S. "has reached nearly 11 million including 6 million Mexicans assuming the same rate of growth as in recent years (pg. 1)." Taking into account the risks that exist during the undocumented migratory process and the disadvantages that undocumented migrants experience once they get to the U.S, the high rate of undocumented status among the Mexicans[1] in the U.S. throws up daunting barriers to their migration, settlement, and integration. These barriers place them in a unique position where they must depend on dense, clique-like, homogeneous social networks in order to achieve any kind of success in the United States. The unique migratory process that these migrants experience, and the risks that accompany them calls for a special kind of social network structure to ensure success. The high risk of dying crossing the U.S.-Mexican border, a lack of English ability,

[1] This same claim can also apply to other Latin American migrants or any migrants from other parts of the world that have high rates of undocumented migrant status.

segregated living and working patterns, and discrimination furies undocumented migrants in the U.S. to fall back on reliable social ties to cross the border, settle down, and survive in the new country.

In this paper I explore what kinds of social networks develop within urban and rural communities. Specifically, I examine the size, frequency, density[2] and demographic composition of migrant networks in rural villages, small towns, and urban areas. Are migrant networks formed through relatives, friends, or co-workers? Furthermore, how do demographic characteristics of network members differ between rural areas, small towns, versus urban areas? I posit that the smaller the size of the place of a migrant's place of, the denser his or her social network. I posit that in rural areas, friends and *paisanos* predominate as the main type of contacts providing social support, owing to solidarity relations embedded within rural networks that allow non-relatives to participate as primary providers and recipients of the social capital necessary to migrate and settle in the U.S. In urban settings, however, I posit that family members predominate as the main source of social support, given the greater level of difficulty for solidarity relations to develop in this setting. In contrast to the situation of native job seekers, new immigrants to the U.S. benefit from a more homogeneous network structure, yielding better employment outcomes in the United States by the time of the interview. In short, in this analysis I seek to answer Burt's basic question for Mexican migrants: "What does it mean to be better connected?"

METHODOLOGY

To investigate differences between the network structures and the social capital produced by migrants from urban versus rural origins, I build on the research methodology of the Mexican

[2] The term "density" in social networks methodology indicates to what extent those networks are extended to other ties.

Migration Project (hereafter "MMP") using their research instrument, called an ethnosurvey (Massey, 1987). This semi-structured questionnaire gathers demographic, labor history and migration information on household members in Mexico and in the United States.

I appended to the standard MMP ethnosurvey a separate module to reconstruct networks. I designed this instrument, which I call the solidarity questionnaire, using the egocentric network methodology developed by Burt (1984) and applied by the General Social Survey (GSS). Besides asking about migrant social networks, this questionnaire includes a set of questions about local social contacts to assess strategies for daily survival at the place of origin (Flores, 1999).

I administered both[3] the MMP and Solidarity questionnaires to 85 households each in two rural villages and to 200 heads of households in a small town as well as 200 heads of households in a working class urban neighborhood, all located in the state of of Guanajuato, Mexico. The town and urban locations were chosen for their proximity to the two rural villages. I drew a simple random sample of each place, and following the methods of the MMP, I also draw a snowball[4] sample of migrants at places of destination in the United States. The size of the snowball sample was 10 percent of the interviews collected in each Mexican community and interviews were done at different places of destination in the U.S. (for more details on sampling procedures see, Massey et al, (1987), and Durand and Massey (2004) appendix in "Crossing the Border") .

Although these samples are only representative of the communities where they were drawn, Guanajuato has historically been a large source of migrants from Mexico to the United

[3] The version of the Solidarity questionnaire of the two rural villages differs to the one of the town and the urban neighborhood. The version of the Solidarity questionnaire applied to the two rural villages does not include a name generator.
[4] A snowball sample is collected by a chain of references instead of simple random methodology.

States so that it offers an attractive setting to study migratory behavior (see Massey and Zenteno, (2000)). I collected the data in the two rural villages during the winter of 1997, in the urban neighborhood during the summer of 2001 and in the small town during the winter break of 2001. I did the fieldwork in the United States during the summers of 1998 and 2002.

SOCIAL CAPITAL USED IN RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

In order to familiarize readers with differences in the access to social capital across the four communities, in this section, I present frequencies by place of origin to assess the influence of context. Most of the variables discussed in this section refer to the last trip to the United States made by the head of the household. Across the four samples, there were 114 migrant heads in the two rural villages (49 in the first and 65 in the second), 77 migrant heads in the town, and 44 migrant heads in the city, yielding a total of 235 migrant heads for analysis. Among these migrants 41 percent had made only one trip to the United States. For these migrants, the last trip is the same as the first. Twenty five percent had a second trip and eleven percent had a third trip. The ethnosurvey asks a lot of questions about who provided different types of assistance in migrating to the United States, such as who paid the coyote, who provided lodging at the time of arrival, who provided financial assistance, etc.

One of the biggest expenses in migrating without documents is the cost of hiring a border smuggler, or coyote. Among respondents in the four communities, this cost ranged between $300 to $2,000. Figure 1 shows who paid for the coyote on the respondent's last U.S. trip, broken down by type of community. These data reveal rural-urban differences with respect to access to social capital. Fewer than five percent of heads from the two rural villages said they paid the coyote themselves, while the percentages were 25 percent and 18 percent among those form the town and the city, respectively. Although help paying for the coyote came mainly from

family members for the heads in all communities, the frequency was generally lower among migrants from the town and the city than in the two ranchos. Whereas 32% of these from the former said a relative paid the coyote, among those from the latter it was 47%. The data also suggest that migrants from the town and the city have more access to tourist visas than those from the rural villages. Whereas 18-20% of migrants said that coyotes were not applicable to their situations, the figure was 27% for those originating in towns and 41% among those from cities.

-------- Figure 1 about here ----------

Moreover, whereas some rural-origin migrants reported that their employer paid their coyote (10 and 25 percent) almost none of those from the town and city did so. Migrants from rural villages not only tend to develop very strong bonds to employers, their lack of skills also traps them and binds them to one boss. The employer agrees may agree to pay for the coyote for a variety of reasons: they may like the particular employee; they may prefer not to train someone else; or they may seek to indenture the worker. In any event the employer usually gets the money back later on by deducting it from the employee's salary. Qualitative interviews also revealed that in some instances employers were willing to pay for a migrant's bail (mostly due to drunk driving), either because they were dependent on their labor or felt sympathy for them.

Figure 2 reports who provided financial help during their last trip by community type. Again, Figure 2 reveals rural-urban differences. For example the percentage of migrants who said that friends or relatives provided financial help was lower among those from the rural villages. Whereas only 15% and 24% of rural origin migrants reported getting financial assistance from a relative 50% of those from towns and 35% of those from cities did so. Likewise, although around 25% of migrants from towns and cities got assistance from friends,

compared to fewer than 15% of those from rural villages. Indeed, between forty and fifty percent of rural dwellers answered that they did not need any financial help during their last trip compared to 22% of those from cities and just 3% of those from the towns. These results indicate town and city dwellers generally need more financial help than rural dwellers when they migrate. On average, rural dwellers possess greater migration experience than urban dwellers, which allows them greater financial independence on later trips. Urban dwellers, in contrast, have to rely more on friends and family members for financial help, especially since they are more likely to be on their first or second trip. given that they are more likely to be in their first or second trip. Interestingly, some urban dwellers (17% from the town and 7% from the city) rely on employers for financial help, compared to tiny percentages (under 3% among those from rural villages. These findings underscore urban-origin migrants lack of financial stability and network support.

----------Figure 2 about here ----------

Figure 3 shows frequencies for answers to the question of how the respondents got their last job in the United States. Only 22 to 27 percent of the heads of households for the four communities said they got the job themselves. Most of them rely either on friends, or relatives to find a job. Slightly a higher percentage (34 percent) of migrants from the city relay on friends than do those from the town (27 percent). Surprisingly, one of the two rural villages, also seems to rely more on friends (35 %) than the other (24%). A slightly higher percentage of urban dwellers (34 % for the town and 27 % for the city) rely on family members to find jobs than those from rural villages, (24 % and 11%).

---------Figure 3 about here ----------

Figure 4 shows who provided lodging to the heads during their last trip to the U.S. Between 40 and 50 percent of migrant heads from the four communities received lodging from relatives. Friends also play a major role, especially among urban origin migrants (between 25 to 30 percent. As in the previous figure, moreover, Rancho 2 again relies more on friends than Rancho 1. My ethnographic research findings also underscored a difference in the way social capital was exchanged between Rancho 1 and Rancho 2. The latter appears to be charactherized by more solidarity and therefore, its members rely more on friends and *paisanos* (34%) than the former (14%). It seems that there are particular conditions in one rural village that yields grater solidarity than the other. Nonetheless, a closer look at the MMP data reveals greater consistency among rural dwellers in terms of solidarity behavior than in either towns or cities (see Flores 2002). The role of employers is also important in providing lodging, ranging from 10 to 16 percent across the four communities. During the Bracero program (1942-64), of course, growers were generally expected to provide housing to the migrants, bet even in current times, some employers still provide housing to migrants, especially in the agricultural sector.

----------Figure 4 about here----------

Figure 5 shows that among both rural and urban origin migrants, between 50 and 60 percent contacted relatives during their last trip. Again, Rancho 1 displays the greatest reliance on family members. Figure 6 likewise shows that between 53 and 72 percent of rural and urban heads contacted *paisanos* during their last trip. Given that Rancho 1 relies more on family members, it is not surprising that a lower percentage of migrants turned to friends there (53%) than in Rancho 2. Urban dwellers generally have high reliance on *paisanos,* consistent with earlier studies showing that cumulative causation and the development of migrant networks chains also occurs in urban settings (see Flores et al, 2004; Flores, 2005).

----------Figure 5 about here----------

----------Figure 6 about here----------

In general, there is a trade off between human and social capital in migration; the more human capital one has the less one needs to relay on social capital. As Figure 7 shows, a higher percentage of urban dwellers (36% for the town and 39 % for the city) understands some English, vs. only 29% and 14 % among rural dwellers. More than 50 percent of the rural dwellers neither speak nor understand the language. Rural dwellers tend to live and work in daughter communities in the U.S. where there is not a great need to learn English. Nonetheless, Rancho 2 shows a greater English ability than Rancho 1, (23% vs. 16%) suggesting a possible advantage to the solidarity behavior experienced by Rancho 2.

----------Figure 7 about here ----------

An important indicator of the environment where rural and urban dwellers live once they get to the United States is the amount of English language spoken in their neighborhood. As mentioned above, those who live segregated in daughter migrant communities have less need to speak English locally. I thus expect that rural dwellers will claim less use of English in their neighborhood than urban dwellers. Figure 8 indeed shows that migrants from the city report greater English usage in their neighborhood than those from the other communities (11 percent vs. 1 to 4 percent). Rancho 1 tends to rely more on family members, speaks less English, and report lower usage of English in the neighborhood suggests that they are more segregated than migrants from Rancho 2.

To consider the possibility that migration experience might be playing important role differentiating the two Ranchos, I tested the difference between them in the mean months of U.S. experience and they are indeed very different: migrant heads from Rancho 1 have more U.S. experience than those of Rancho 2 (114 vs. 79 months), a difference that is statistically significant. However, the number of U.S. trips is about the same about 5 trips in each community and there is no difference in mean of the first migration year (around 1972 for Rancho 1 and 1974 for Rancho 2). Besides the number of months of U.S. experience there are not other major significant differences between the sample characteristics of the two rural villages.

Finally, another indicator of the type of social networks that migrants use in the United States is membership in U.S. social organizations. Across all four communities, however, membership in social organizations it is very low. --6 and 11 percent for the rural villages, and just 11 and 20 percent for the town and the city, respectively. Nonetheless, as expected, migrants from the city display the higher state or organizational membership, possibly indicating a lack of access to interpersonal networks within the United States.

----------Figure 8 about here----------

ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL IN RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

In this section I determine the degree to which different sources of human and social capital are accessible to potential migrants from villages, towns and cities. Appendix A contains the description of the variables used in this analysis. Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics and t –tests comparing the two ranchos combined the town, and the city. I first compared the

samples for the two ranchos and I found very few differences with the exception of the number of months of migration experience, so in order to simplify the analysis in this section, I combined both samples to compute the statistics shown in Table 1.

The main purpose of this exercise is to explore whether there are differences in the potential access of migrants to social capital depending on the size of the place of origin. Table 1 shows the means for two basic human capital variables: age and years of education at the time of the survey. Additional human capital indicators include occupational status of the migrant on last U.S. job, the year of first U.S. migration, the number of months of migrant experience in the U.S., number of U.S. trips and whether the head was undocumented during the last migration.

The variables indicating potential access to social capital are: number of friends, cousins, nieces and nephews, siblings, and aunts and uncles in the U.S. at the time of the survey; and the number of friends, cousins, nieces and nephews, siblings, and aunts and uncles who have ever been in the U.S. These variables represent the possible size of the head's migrant social network at the time of migration. If we were to add together the means for all the friends and family members by the place of origin, we would obtain an estimate of the size of the head's social network in the U.S. at the time of the survey. Among migrants from the two ranchos, the total number of contacts was 17.4, compared with 17.3 contacts in the town but just 8.85 contacts for the city. If we add up connections to persons who have ever been in the U.S., we get 36.74 contacts for the rural villages, 20.56 contacts for the town for the town, and 9.68 contacts for the city.

Table 1 reveals significant differences between the three contexts. On average migrants from the town posses 2.4 more years of education than those from the rural villages and city-origin migrants were 2.7 more years of schooling. What they lack is formal human capital,

however, rural dwellers make up for with the informal capital of migrant experience. Migrant heads from the rural villages have around 37 more months of U.S. experience than those from the town and the city. Also, migrant heads from the rural villages have made an average of three more trips to the U.S. than those from the town or city. In addition, 20 percent more of those migrating from the town were undocumented during their last migration, compared to those from towns (the differential was 11 points for city-origin migrants).

In addition to having more migration-specific human capital migrants form the rancho have on average 2.88 more friends, 8.25 more cousins, 3.55 more nieces and nephews, one more sibling, and .47 more aunts and uncles who have ever been in the U.S. than the migrant heads from the town. Also those from the rural villages have on average 1.60 more cousins .40 more nieces and nephews in the U.S. at the time of the survey. The town migrants though, had on average half an uncle more in the U.S. than those from rural villages at the time of the survey.

----- Table 1 about here ---------

Differences between the town and the city samples are also substantial. Table 1 shows that migrants from the city are 2.2 years older than those from the town and that their occupational status was .74 greater for those from the town than those from the city. In addition migrant heads in the town have on average .32 more U.S. trips than city dwellers.

Regarding access to social capital, migrant heads in the town generally experienced greater access than those from the city. On average, they had 3.99 more friends, 1.05 more cousins, 2.56 more nieces and nephews and .44 more siblings in the U.S. than the migrant heads from the city at the time of the survey. Also, those migrant heads from the town had on average 5.21 more friends, 1.65 more cousins, 2.81 more nieces and nephews and .61 more siblings whom ever been in the U.S. than those from the city.

EXPLORING THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

In this section I will begin to explore the social network data that I collected in two communities, the town and the city. This data was collected as an addition to the ethnosurvey questionnaire where those heads with migration experience where asked with a name generator to provide the names, relationships, social network and demographic characteristics of those who helped him or her to migrate to the United States during his or her complete migration experience. The variables presented in Table 2 are described on Appendix A. The Solidarity survey was asked to either the head of household with migration experience, or if the head had never migrated to the U.S., then the Solidarity survey was asked to either the spouse or the oldest son or daughter with prior migration experience to the U.S. in that same order. For the two communities, 63 percent of the respondents to the solidarity survey are heads of households, three percent are spouses, and 34 percent are the oldest sibling with migrant experience in the household. From the two communities there were a total of 149 respondents who answered the solidarity survey, 94 from the town and 55 from the city.

During the analysis some cases were lost given the need to meet certain criteria and because of the stepwise deletion of the missing cases in the regression and logistic regression analyses. A total of 29 of the migrants did not respond to the solidarity survey because they had nobody that helped them to migrate. In Table 2, I am comparing their demographic and migration experience characteristics of those who did not get any help to those who did. Given the restrictions of the sample of those who completed the solidarity survey, the sample was reduced from 149 to 120 respondents.

As shown in Table 2, the most important statistically significant differences between the migrants who received help to migrate and those who did not are the following. Those who did not received help to migrate on average were 1.62 years older, had made on average .64 less domestic trips, 62 more months of U.S. experience, .34 less migration trips to the U.S., had .11 higher occupational status during their last trip. Therefore, those who did not receive help are on average older, have less internal domestic experience in Mexico, more U.S. migration experience, had slightly less U.S. trips and their occupational status for their last job in the U.S. is slightly higher than those who received help to migrate.

----------Table 2 about here ----------

Even though I asked for all the types of help that migrants received to migrate, I decided to aggregate them into a few categories in order to simplify this analysis. There were three major areas where migrants received help to migrate. One was the help provided in order to get to the U.S. such as, money to get to the border, information on how to get a coyote, money to pay the coyote, money to survive at the border in case of frequent deportations, etc. Then the next kind of help is relevant to settling in the U.S. once the migrant arrives. This includes a place to stay, food, clothes and information about the resources in the community while the migrant gets on its own feet. This process can take from a few days to a few months. Finally, the third type of help is the help to get a job in the U.S. This includes babysitting help so the person can work, transportation to the job or money for transportation, and of course, help finding the job. Table 2 shows that from the two samples, on average 34 percent of the migrants in both places get these three types of help at the same time. Also, at least 54 percent get help to migrate or find a job. 75 percent get help to find a job and settle simultaneously, and 53 percent get only help to find a

job in the U.S. This means that urban migrants in general still receive extensive social capital support when they migrate to the U.S.

The descriptive statistics shown on Table 3 are relevant to all the migrants in both samples even if they did not receive help to migrate. I compared both samples in order to investigate whether there were important differences among those who were from the town and the city taking into account whether they answered the Solidarity Survey or not.

As shown in Table 3 including those who did not answer the Solidarity Survey, there is on average a greater proportion of female migrants (6 % greater) migrating from the city than from the town. Consistent to the prior sample of only heads of households, in this sample there is also a greater proportion (7% greater) of single migrants in the city and of course a greater proportion of married migrants (11 %) from the town. There is also a slightly greater proportion of widowed migrants in the city sample. The average number of domestic migration trips within Mexico is slightly greater at the city given the process of urbanization. On average the months of U.S. migration experience is 13 months greater for the city dwellers than those for the town. Surprisingly, the average number of migration trips is slightly greater (.38 trips) for those of the town than for the migrants from the city.

Results regarding the migration social network variables show additional support to prior findings when looking at the four communities, that on average, a slightly greater number of family members provided the help to migrate to city dwellers than those from the town. Finally, the social network measures that suggest a greater heterogeneity among the respondent and their contacts which are difference in education and difference in occupational status between the respondent and his or her contacts are surprisingly both greater for the town dwellers than for the city dwellers (please see Appendix A for a complete description of these variables).

----------Table 3 about here ----------

Results regarding the density measure are also shown in Table 3 (please see Appendix A for a complete description of how this measure was constructed). The respondents who had no contacts who helped them to migrate were assigned a 0 as their density measure. On average, the density measures show a statistically significant difference between the two samples of .20 showing greater density in the sample from the town. Finally, on average, the number of contacts is also slightly grater (by .125) for those respondents from the town than those from the city. Finally and more important, Table 3 shows that there are not any statistically significant differences between the means for the two samples regarding the types of social capital received to migrate to the United States such as, whether the migrant received help to migrate to the U.S., to settle, to find a job, etc. suggesting that migrants receive the same social capital support to migrate in the town and in the city.

Table 4 shows the Logistic Regression analysis predicting four dependent variables, whether the respondent received help to only migrate to the U.S., to only find a job, to settle and find a job and the three types of help together, migrate, settle and find a job. Results show that the greater the density and the greater the number of contacts greatly increase the likelihood of getting all the types of help. Table 4 also shows that the variables that measure heterogeneity such as, difference in education and difference in occupation show mixed results. For this model, due to the distribution of these variables I had to convert the continuous variables to dummy variables. The difference in education variable equals 1 if the difference in education between the respondent and his or her contacts is greater or equal to 3 years, otherwise it equals 0. Also, the variable of difference in occupation equals 1 if the difference in occupation is greater or equal to 5 status points, otherwise it equals 0. When predicting help to migrate only,

the difference in education shows a negative marginally statistically significant effect suggesting that difference in education among the respondent and the contacts is a negative predictor for getting help to migrate and cross the border to the U.S. There is no statistically significant effect of any of these two variables in all the other models, but the difference in occupation variable consistently shows a negative effect in all the models, while the difference in education variable shows a positive non-statistically significant effect with exception of the model predicting to migrate only where it shows a positive marginally statistically significant effect.

Finally, Table 5 shows the results of a linear regression analysis predicting the occupational status of the respondent during the last trip to the U.S. This model can tell us to what extent the social capital provided to the migrant by its contacts at the time of migration helped the migrant to get a good job in the U.S. The nested models show a few interesting stories. Model I shows the results without the social network measures included in the model. The results in model I show a positive statistical effect of the number of months of U.S. experience and a marginally significant positive effect for each additional migration trip. Model I also shows that without controlling for social networks being undocumented during the last migration trip has a negative effect on getting a better job during the last trip although, in model II when the density measure and the number or contacts measures are added as control variables, the effect of being undocumented is not longer statistically significant, but still has a negative effect on predicting a better occupational status during the last migration. In this model, the effect of the density measure while controlling for everything else is positive and not statistically significant.

In Model III shows the results when one controls for the difference in occupation between the respondent and his or her contacts (without taking into account the difference in

education), suddenly the number of domestic trips become an important predictor for getting a better job in job during the last trip in the U.S. Also, occupational status increases with every additional trip to the U.S.. The number of months of U.S. experience is also an important predictor in this model. In this model when one controls for the difference in occupational status, the density measure turns negative and it is not statistically significant

Model IV shows the results when one take into account the difference in education between the respondent and his or her contacts, without taking into account the difference in occupation. The results of column 4 in Table 5 show that when one controls for difference in education additional number of months of U.S. experience are not longer a predictor for getting a better occupational status on the last job in the U.S. The coefficients for the predictors of the Number of domestic trips and the number of U.S. trips are still significant predictors in this model. Also, if one takes into account the difference in education, being undocumented has a negative and statistically significant effect in predicting a higher occupational status on the last trip. Furthermore, the difference in education variable has a negative marginally statistically significant effect on getting a higher occupational status on the last trip in the U.S..

In Model V when one includes both of the heterogeneity measures, difference in occupation and difference in education the R square goes up from .2475 to .3383 which suggests a better fit of the model explaining about 34 percent of the variance. The main predictor for getting a higher occupational status during the last trip in the U.S. is the number of domestic trips in Mexico. When one controls for all the social network characteristics, the number of U.S. trips becomes not longer an important predictor of higher occupational status during the last migration. Finally, being undocumented continuous to be a negative statistically significant predictor of a greater occupational status in the U.S. during the last trip.

------ Table 5 about here ----------

Finally, the difference in education is also a negative predictor of getting a higher occupational status in the U.S. during the last trip. This means that the greater the difference in the years of education between the migrant and his or her contacts, the lower the occupational status of the migrant during the last trip to the U.S. These results suggest that heterogeneity is playing a negative role in this model and instead, this results support the hypothesis of the importance of the role of homogeneity in positive job outcomes. Other variables of interest in the model with not statistically significant effect are the city dummy and the density measure. In Model V after controlling for all the demographic, human capital and social capital characteristics, there are no statistically significant differences between the city and the town in terms of getting a better occupational status in the U.S. during the last trip. Finally, the effect of density is positive in this last model even though is not statistically significant. When one controls for the difference in occupation and education the density measure changes from having a negative effect to having a positive effect. Also, in this last model the number of contacts has a positive effect even though the coefficient is not statistically significant. The difference in occupation variable has also a positive effect, but it is not statistically significant. This means that differences in occupational status between the contacts and the respondent do not have any effect in the occupational status of the respondent during the last trip.

CONCLUSION

We have explored in great extent the interrelations between social context, social structure and social capital. After reviewing the social capital used in rural and urban communities, we learned that there can be differences and similarities in the use of social capital

between rural and urban dwellers. In most cases, most of the social capital needed to migrate comes from friends and relatives in both contexts. Urban dwellers though seem to have some kinds of advantages and disadvantages in their use of social capital. On one hand, urban dwellers need less social capital to help paid for a coyote than rural dwellers. Urban dwellers have greater knowledge of English and more of those from the city live in communities where they have to use the English Language more often. More of those from the city also belong to social organizations. On the other hand, urban dwellers in higher percentages tend to finance the cost of their coyote themselves. Also, urban dwellers have more need for financial help than rural dwellers; urban dwellers have less social capital available from friends and relay more on relatives and employers.

Urban dwellers have to relay slightly more on relatives to find jobs and receive lodging than rural dwellers, although urban dwellers also do receive significant amount of help from friends in many instances even similar to those experienced by rural dwellers. Both, rural and urban dwellers contact relatives and *paisanos* in similar amounts once they get to the United States indicating that for migrants in both contexts it is essential the use of their available networks in order to make it in the U.S. And finally, the frequencies showed some inconsistencies in the social capital exchange of the two rural villages. In general, results indicate that the rural village (Rancho 2) relied more on the help of friends and *paisanos*, and less in family members, suggesting a greater exchange of solidarity relations. Such greater exchange of social support among the dwellers of Rancho 2 may have resulted on greater knowledge and use of the English language even though the heads of household of Rancho 2 had on average less months U.S. experience than those of Rancho 1.

When examining the access to social capital in rural and urban communities we found great differences in the demographic composition, migration experience and size of social network characteristics of the heads of household by size of place of origin of the migrant. Regarding the human capital characteristics of the heads there are also important differences if one takes into account the size of the place of origin. The education of the heads tends to increase the greater the place of origin. Also, on average the occupational status during the last trip tends to be the lowest for those migrants who migrate from rural villages. But, the lack of formal human capital among rural migrants is replaced by their excess of migrant human capital. On average, the rural village migrant's possess greater number of months of U.S. experience than those from the town and the city. In addition, the number of U.S. migration trips tends to decrease the larger the community of origin of the migrant. Given that the rural villages dwellers posses on average more migratory experience, and a greater number of migration trips to the U.S. they are the ones that on average carry on average a lower proportion of migrants with undocumented status. Finally, on average in general, the larger the place of origin of the migrant, the smaller the possible number of contacts that the migrant may have in the United States or the number of contacts who have ever been in the U.S.. This suggests that the greater the place of origin of the migrant the less available social network contacts that the migrant possess, which potentially decreases the chances for future migration to the members of that community.

Finally we learned by exploring the structure of social capital and the role of density and heterogeneity in migrant social capital outcomes that indeed confirming our hypothesis stated above, density and homogeneity play a major and positive role during the migration, settlement process and job related outcomes of Mexican migrants to the U.S. In this section we also were

able to explore the characteristics of those who had contacts and those without contacts. Results show that those migrants from the town and the city who did not receive help to migrate are on average older, have less internal migration experience, more months of U.S. migration experience, less migration trips, and possessed higher occupational status during their last migration trip than those who received help to migrate.

Regarding the social network measures, confirming the above hypotheses, results show that the larger the place of origin of the migrant, the lower the density. Also as expected the smaller the place of origin, the greater the number of contacts that helped to migrate. The demographic and migrant characteristics of the samples from the Solidarity survey reflect almost exactly the same characteristics of the heads of household. In both samples for the town and the city, there were not statistically significant difference between the proportion of migrants who received help to migrate, settle and find a job in the U.S or any combination of these types of support. What it is clear though, is that urban migrants also get a lot of help to migrate given that almost 39 percent of the migrants from the town and 25 percent of the migrants from the city got all three types of help.

Finally we were able to find evidence to confirm only in part the above stated hypothesis that denser, clique like, homogeneous networks provide more advantage to urban dwellers that migrate to the U.S. in order to get a the necessary social capital to migrate, settle, find a job and get higher occupational status during their last migration. Also results showed that the density measure does play a major role predicting getting help to migrate, settle and find a job in the U.S. among urban migrants, while at the same time it does play a positive non-statistically significant effect predicting getting a higher occupational status in both urban settings.

Also, regarding the role of network homogeneity our results only partially support our hypothesis. Difference in occupation among the respondent and the contacts, negatively predicts getting the necessary social capital to migrate, settle, and get a job in the U.S., although the coefficients are not statistically significant. Regarding the variable that measures difference in education, only in the case of predicting only getting help to migrate to the U.S., the coefficient is marginally significant showing a negative effect of network heterogeneity, otherwise, the effect of difference in education is positive, but not statistically significant.

Regarding predicting occupational status during the last trip, what seem to matter most is their differences in education negatively predicting the outcome. This suggests that the level of network heterogeneity with respect to educational status plays a negative role among urban dwellers. Heterogeneity in occupational status on the other hand, has a positive effect, but it is not a statistically significant predictor. This means that in order for urban dwellers to get better occupations during their last migration, they must relay on contacts who are more like them in terms of their own level of education. These findings suggest that urban dwellers would be better off if they belong to dense, clique like, homogeneous networks like their rural counterparts.

Other studies have also found evidence that supports the findings stated above. Ted Mouw's (2004) looking at the Mexican Migration Project's data while attempting to show an indirect test of the effects of social capital, argues that "informal job search is a critical component of the labor market for Hispanic workers—especially recent immigrants." His found that "the social capital of migrant workers as measured by the number of friends and relatives in the U.S. and as expressed through the use of contacts to find work has a positive effect on wages (Mouw (2004); pg. 1)." Furthermore, Wierzbicki (2004) finds that for Mexicans living in the

U.S. "*growth* in the level of strong ties over time shows that immigrants become embedded …blacks and white immigrants, however, do not become more embedded over time (pg. 64)." Wierzbicki (2004) also finds that "among foreign-born Mexicans, 84 percent of their strong ties are with co-ethnics (pg. 100)."

In addition, even though it has been found that density of ties is not always present among migrant groups as in the case of Salvadorian immigrants (Menjivar 2000), my qualitative research with the migrants from Guanajuato, Mexico made me believe that there may be something particular about the Mexican culture that facilitates solidarity relations among Mexican migrants. And as this research suggests, such relations can lead them to receive the necessary support to migrate, to better jobs and better wages even though they lack the ability to get out of their enclaves, speak the English language and take advantage of the "Strength of Weak ties" hypothesis of Granovetter like many other migrants and non-migrants in America.

Again, we have to remember that this research has only taken a small glimpse to the behavior of the migrant networks of four communities, two rural villages, a town and a city in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. With no doubt, this research has shown that the size of the place of origin of the migrant can have an effect on the way social capital is exchanged. Also, the network structure necessary for the most effective exchange of social capital in the case of Mexican migration to the U.S. could be very different to the type of social network structure that is considered to provide advantages to other social groups in other different social situations. There is still a lot of research to be done in order to understand more about how the concept of social capital really operates. From this research we have learned that for Mexican migrants, what it means to be better connected is to belong to dense, cohesive, homogeneous, clique-like migrant networks and that urban migrants like their rural counterparts, are also able to somehow

be able to belong to such network structure and take advantage of its benefits. These findings also provide support to the "clique effect" preposition where Flores (2005) found that urban migrants first utilize their fragile urban network connections to get to the U.S., but that once they are in the U.S., they are attracted to rural-based migrant networks in order to take advantage of their network structure which provides a safety net for them.

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Figure 1: Percentages of Who Paid Coyote (Last Trip)

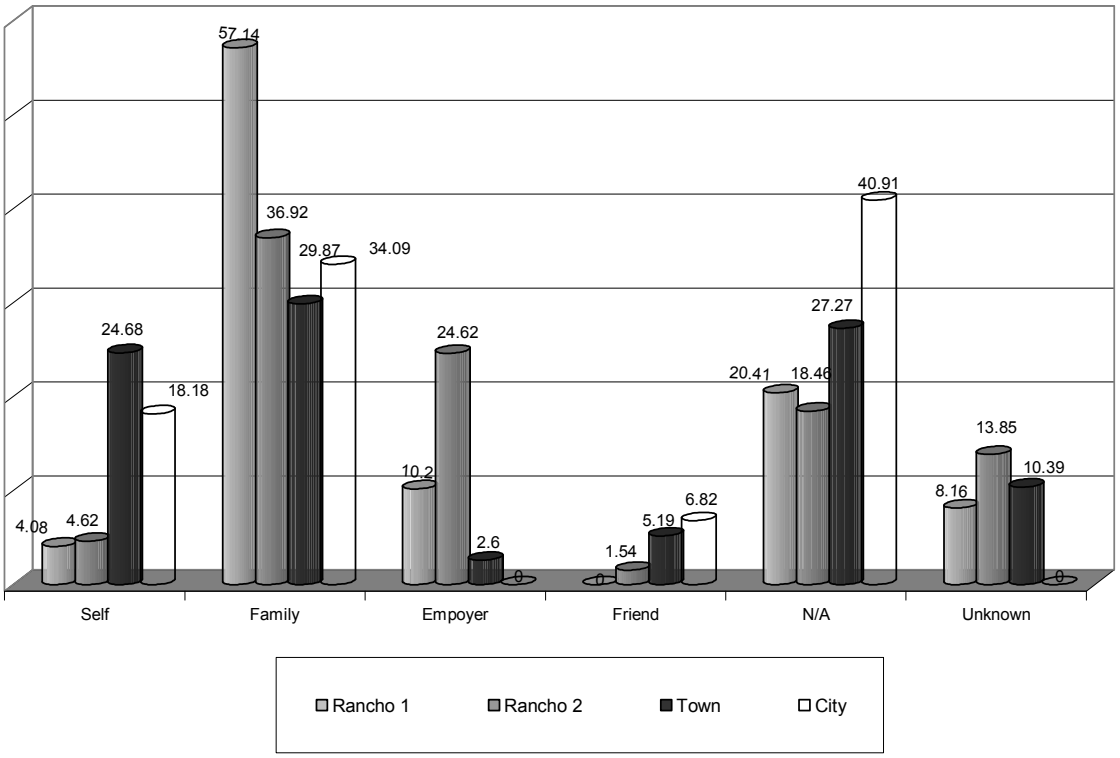

Figure 2: Percentages of Who Provided Financial Help during Last Trip

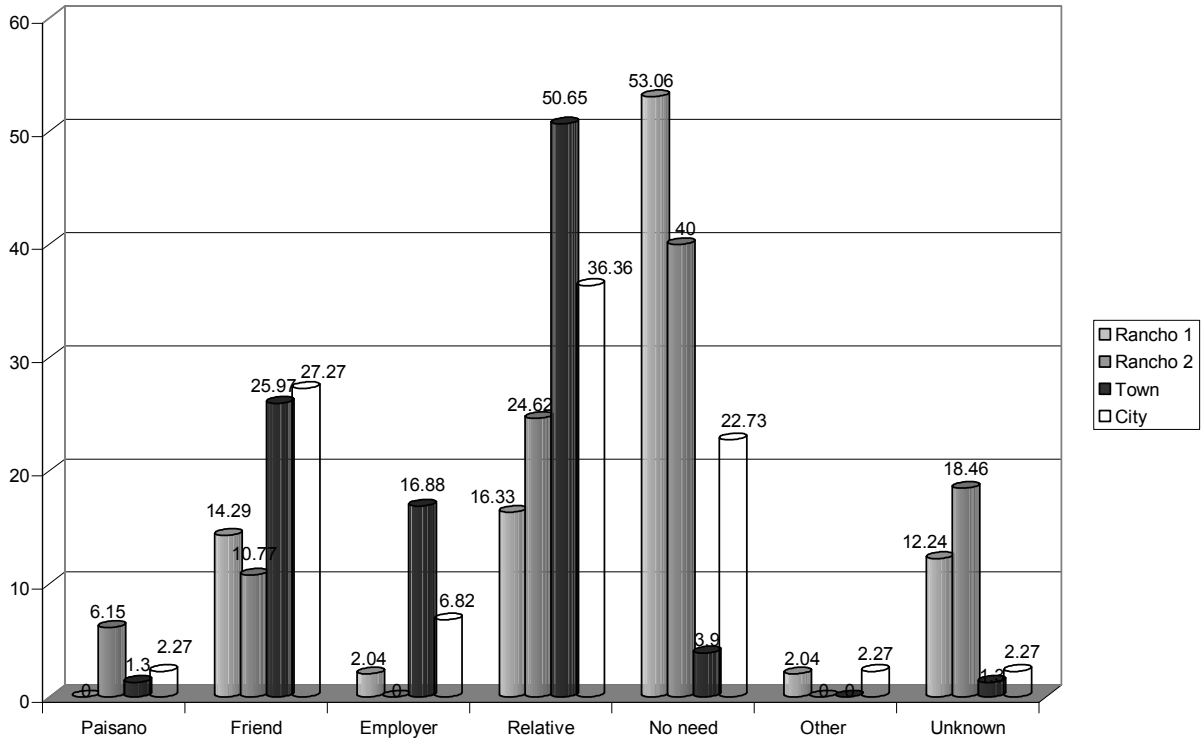

Figure 3: Percentages of How Found Job on Last Trip

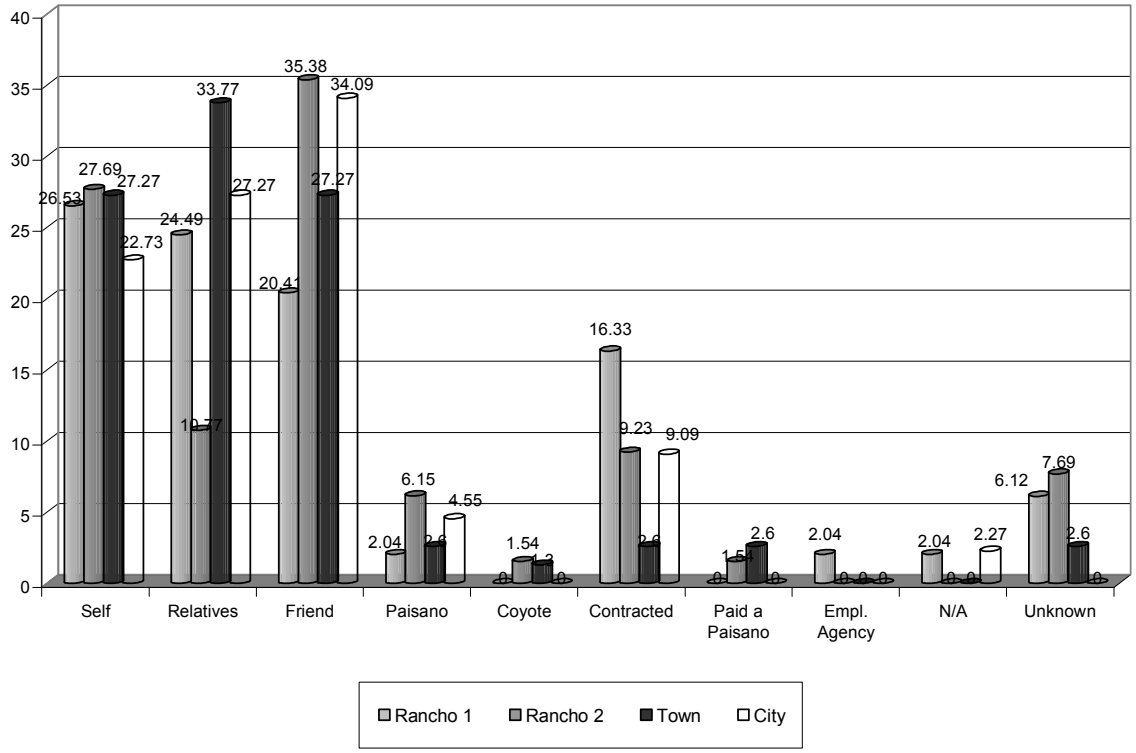

Figure 4: Percentages of from whom received Lodging on Last Trip

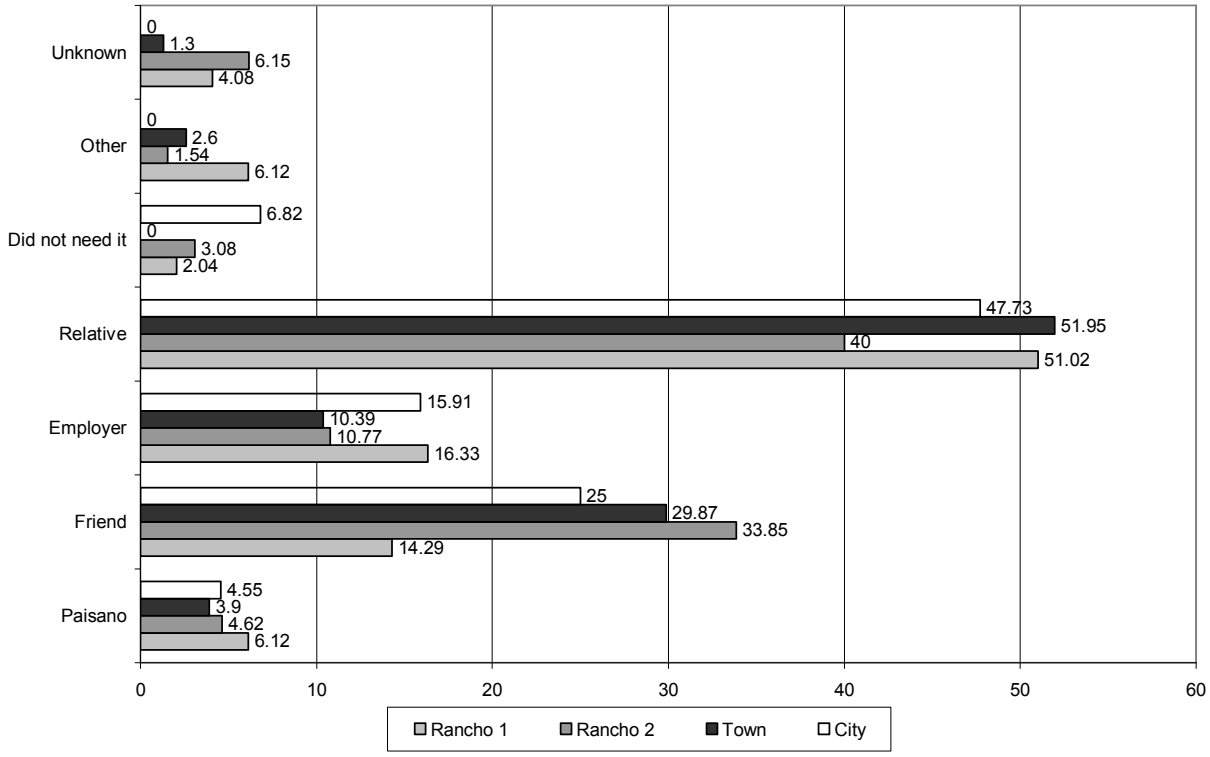

Figure 5: Contacted Relatives during Last Trip (Percentages)

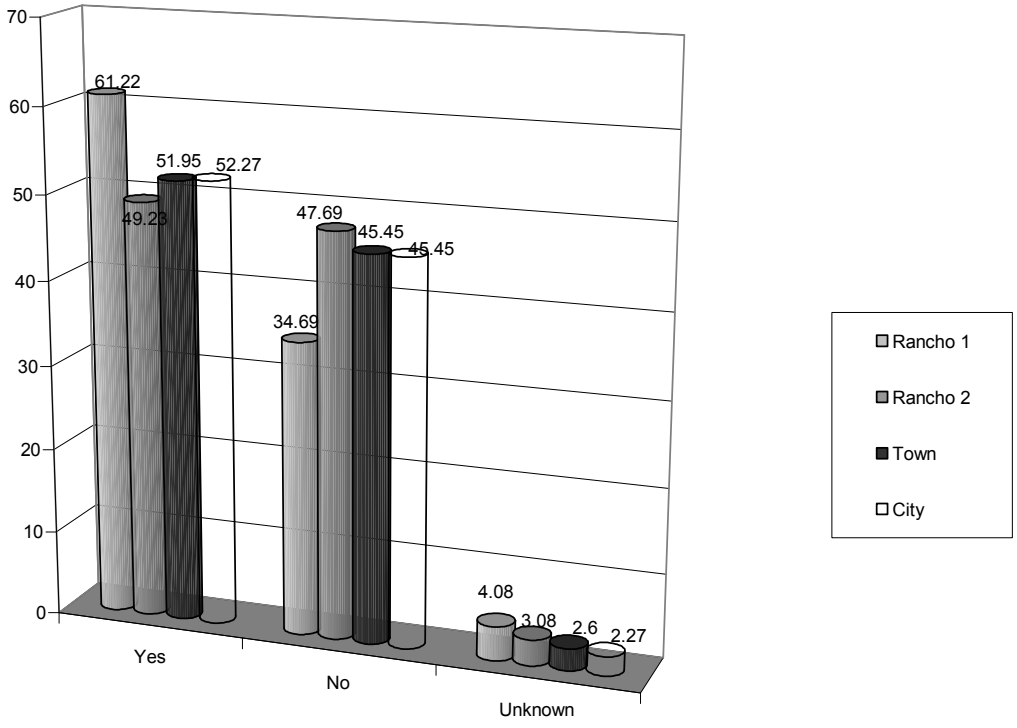

Figure 6: Contacted Paisanos during Last Trip (Percentages)

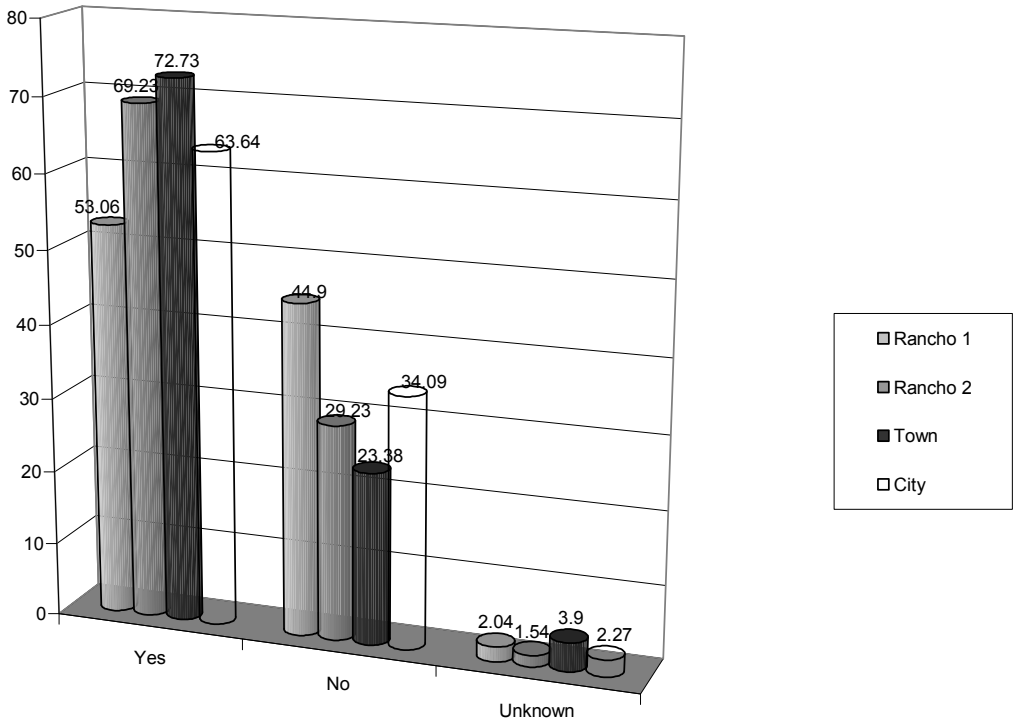

Figure 7: English knowledge during Last Trip

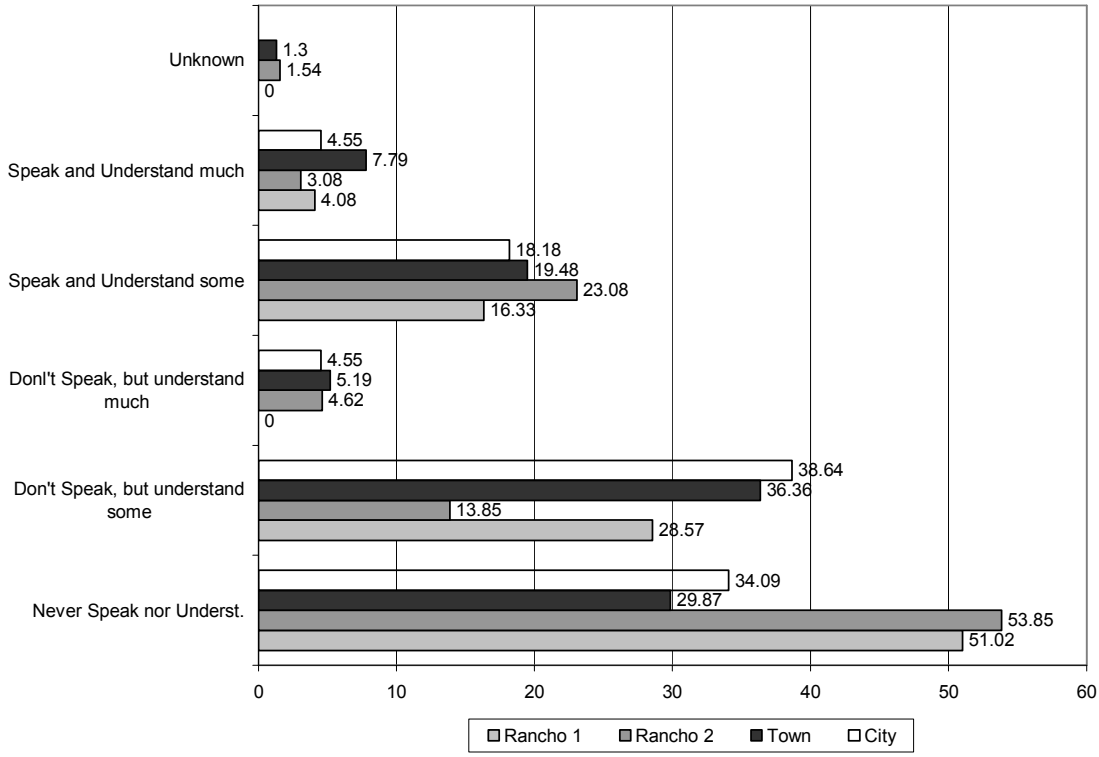

Figure 8: Percentages of English usage in Neightborhood

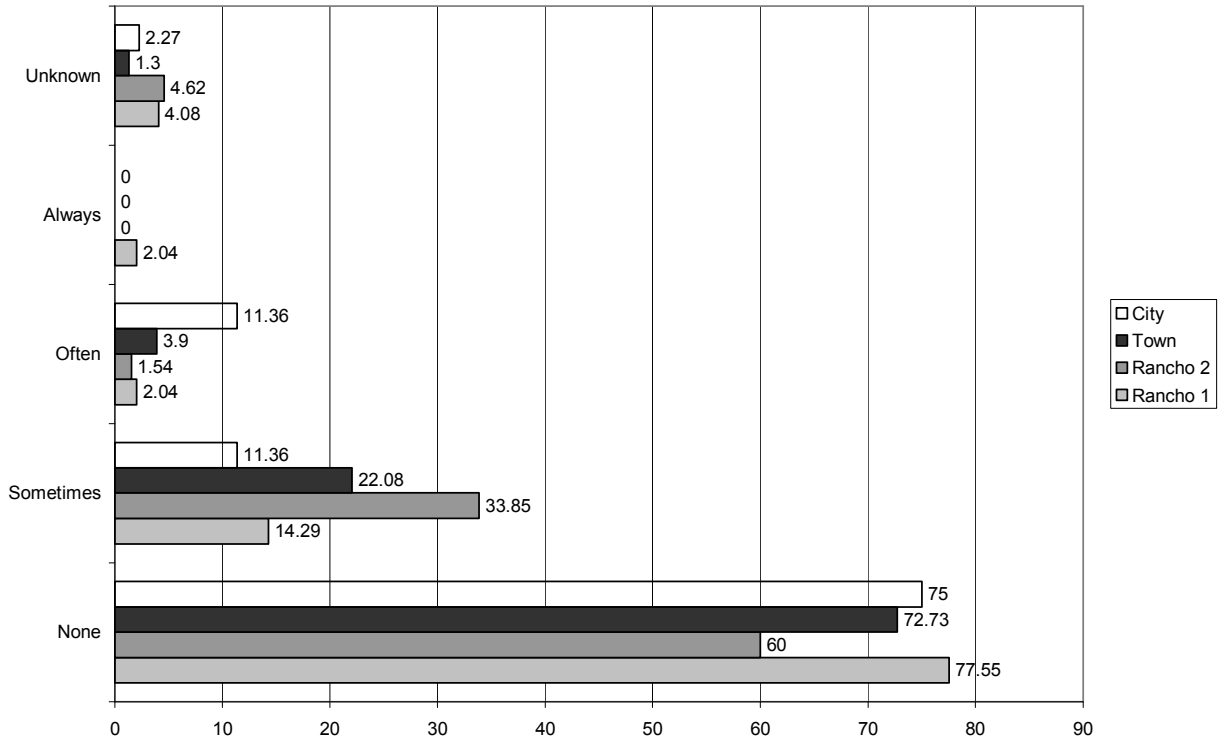

Figure 9: Participated in Social Organization on Last Trip (Percentages)

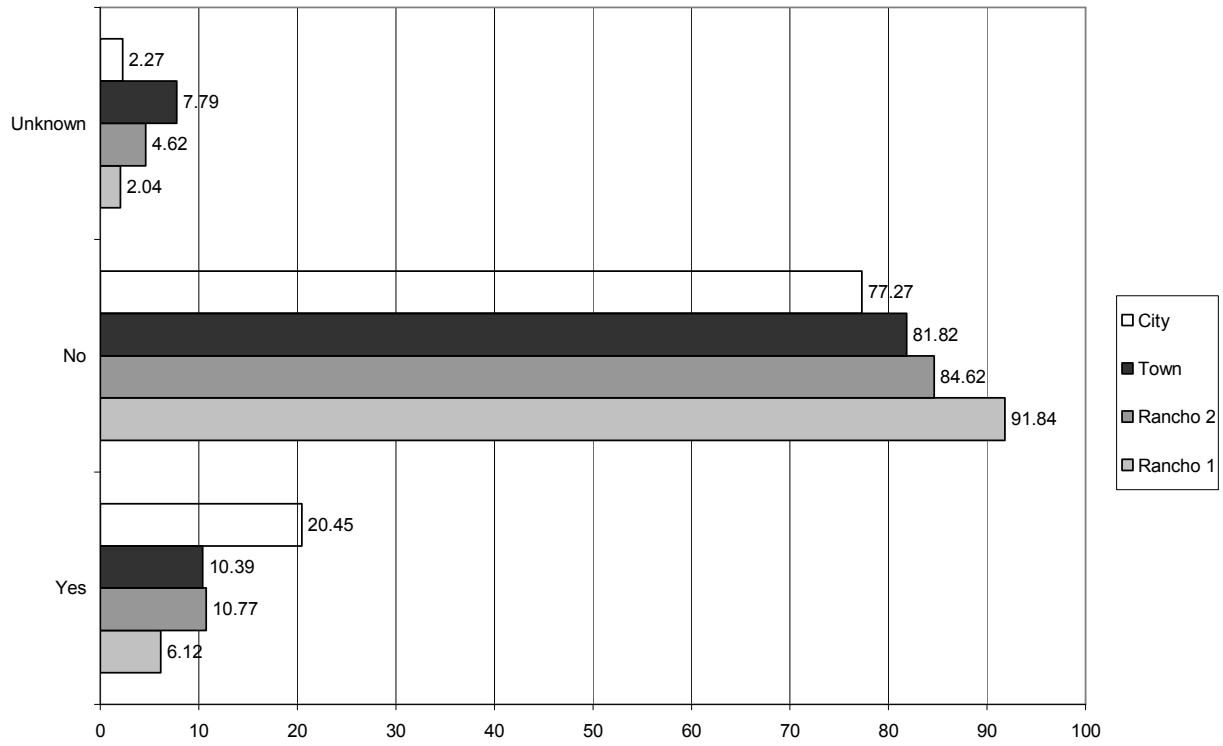

Table 1: Indicators of Human and Social Capital in Four Mexican Communities			
Two Ranchos (T-tests for Two ranchos vs. Town)		Town (T-test town vs. city)	City
Variable	Mean	Mean	Mean
Human Capital			
Age	47.4824	43.8311**	46.0682
Widowed	0.0087*	0.0129**	0.0227
Years of Education	2.7192***	5.1038	5.3864
Status of Last Occupation in U.S.	27.4629	30.3246**	29.5814
Year of First U.S. Migration	1973	1984	1980
Months of U.S. Experience	94.1228***	56.7143	56.4318
No. of U.S. Trips	4.8508***	1.7532***	1.4318
Undocumented on Last Migration	0.6403**	0.8442	0.75
Social Capital			
No. of Friends in U.S.	4.57895	5.3376***	1.3409
No. of Friends ever in U.S.	9.9912***	7.1039***	1.8864
No. of Cousins in U.S.	5.8947*	4.2857**	3.2273
No. of Cousins ever in U.S.	13.2017***	4.9480***	3.2955
No. of Nieces and Nephews in U.S.	5.0964***	5.4935**	2.9318
No. of Nieces and Nephews ever in U.S.	9.3771**	5.8181**	3
No. of Siblings in U.S.	1.4385	1.2857***	0.8409
No. of Siblings ever in U.S.	2.5175***	1.5194***	0.9091
No. of Aunts and Uncles in U.S.	0.4385**	0.935	0.5227
No. of Aunts and Uncles ever in U.S.	1.6578**	1.1818	0.5909
N	114	77	44
p<.01=***, p<.05=**, p<.07=*			

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of those who received help and those who did not (two samples joined)

Variables	No Help Mean	With Help Mean
City	0.5862	0.3167
Town	0.4138	0.6833
Human Capital		
Age	41.448*	39.825*
Years of Education	6.4828	6.05
No. of Domestic Trips	0.172***	0.391***
Year of First U.S Migration	1984	1986
Months of U.S. Experience	121.655***	52.058***
No. of U.S. trips	1.241***	1.583***
Status of Last Occupation in U.S.	31.7826**	31.6637**
Undocumented on Last migration	0.6207	0.7917
Social Capital		
No. of Family who helped	.	0.9
Difference in Education	.	3.2369
Difference in Occupation	.	7.9602
Density	.	0.9519
Number of contacts	.	1.475
Got help to migrate	.	0.53691
Got help to find a job in the U.S.	.	0.52349
Got help to settle in the U.S.	.	0.75168
Got help to settle and find job	.	0.49664
Got all three types of help	.	0.34228
N	29	149

p<.01=***, p<.05=**

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of the Town and City Samples

	Town		City	
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean
Demographic Characteristics				
Male	94	0.9362***	55	0.8727***
Age	94	40.2766	55	39.9091
Single	94	0.0957**	55	0.1636**
Married	94	0.8936**	55	0.7818**
Widowed	94	0.0106**	55	0.0182**
Human Capital				
Years of Education	94	5.7447	55	6.8
No. of Domestic Trips	94	0.3404***	55	0.3636***
Year of First U.S migration	94	1986	55	1985
Months of U.S. Experience	94	60.7234***	55	73.9454***
No. of U.S. trips	94	1.6596***	55	1.2727***
Status of Last Occupation in U.S.	90	31.3444	49	32.30612
Undocumented on Last migration	94	0.7872	55	0.7091
Social Capital				
No. of Family who helped	94	0.8902***	38	0.921053***
Difference in Education	65	3.7018***	33	2.3212***
Difference in Occupation	85	7.7812**	47	3.3723**
Density	94	0.8408**	55	0.64**
Number of contacts	94	1.2340***	55	1.1090***
Got help to migrate	94	0.617021	55	0.4
Got help to find a job in the U.S.	94	0.56383	55	0.454546
Got help to settle in the U.S.	94	0.808511	55	0.654546
Got help to settle and find job	94	0.531915	55	0.436364
Got all three types of help	94	0.393617	55	0.254546

p<.01=***, p<.05=**

Table 4: Logistic Regression Predicting Help to Migrate, Find a Job and Settle in the U.S.[5]

	Dependent Variables			
Independent Variables	Migration help	Find a job	Settle and Find Job	Migrate, Settle and Find Job
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
City	0.513	0.962	0.979	0.530
Human Capital				
Year of First U.S migration	0.973	0.950*	0.949*	0.929*
Months of U.S. Experience	1.003	1.003	1.003	1.003
No. of U.S. trips	1.228	0.858	0.919	0.863
Undocumented on Last migration	0.729	1.065	0.808	0.721
Social Capital				
Density	55.189***	35.839***	31.334***	16.293***
Number of contacts	2.331***	3.405***	3.847***	2.853***
Difference in Education > 3	0.443*	1.993	2.037	2.853
Difference in Occupation > 5	0.913	0.762	0.595	0.861
n	149	149	149	149
Likelihood Ratio	60.1812***	62.5178***	62.8500***	4.0219***

p<.01=***, p<.05=** , p<.07=*

[5] This Logistic regression model had as control variables all the demographic and human capital characteristics presented in Table 5, with the exception of the number of family members who helped and the marital status dummies. The distributions of these variables caused quasi complete separation and were not providing much more explanatory power to the model, so I decided to eliminate them.

Table 5: Linear Regression Models Predicting Occupational Status during Last Migration Trip

Independent Variables	Model I β	Model II β	Model III β	Model IV β	Model V β
City	0.6822	1.1229	1.7154	1.2481	0.3493
Town (reference category)	-	-	-	-	-
Demographic Characteristics					
Male	2.8834	2.5688	4.0356	2.0181	4.8036
Age	-0.071	0.0017	-0.1265	0.3485	0.2597
Age Square	-0.0008	-0.0015	-0.0009	-0.0048	-0.0057
Single	0.6938	1.0671	0.8694	2.0955	1.7788
Married (reference category)	-	-	-	-	-
Widowed	-0.6044	-0.8812	-1.2649	-1.9611	-0.0646
Human Capital					
Years of Education	0.0965	0.0868	0.0363	0.1853	0.2246
No. of Domestic Trips	0.9076	0.9415	2.1926**	2.3178**	2.2990**
Year of First U.S. Migration	-0.0176	-0.0029	-0.0331	0.0707	-0.1242
Months of U.S. Experience	0.0398***	0.0431***	0.0355**	0.0295	0.0222
No. of U.S. Trips	1.6158*	1.7476*	2.0584**	2.4091**	2.0431
Undocumented on Last Migration	-3.4821*	-3.4009	-3.8743	-6.1396**	-7.2104**
Social Capital					
Density	-	2.5999	-0.5823	-8.4151	17.5899
Number of Contacts	-	-0.5878	-0.4758	-0.4876	1.8234
No. of Family who helped	-	-	-1.9645	-2.009	-2.883
Difference in Occupation	-	-	0.0368	-	0.1719
Difference in Education	-	-	-	-0.6369*	-0.7757**
N	138	138	102	94	84
R square	0.191	0.2004	0.2386	0.2475	0.3383
Adj. R sq.	0.114	0.1101	0.0969	0.0932	0.1705

p<.01=***, p<.05=** , p<.06=*

Appendix A

Appendix A : Description of Variables Name of Variable	Description
Demographic Characteristics	
Age	Continuous Variable
Age Squared	Age*Age
Single	If single =1 else single=0;
Married	if married =1 else married=0;
Widowed	if widowed=1 else widowed=0;
Human Capital	
Years of Education	Continuous Variable
Year of First U.S Migration	Continuous Variable
Months of U.S. Exp.	Continuous Variable
No. of U.S. trips	Continuous Variable
Status of Last Occupation in U.S.	Continuous Variable
No. of Domestic Trips	Continuous Variable
Undocumented on Last migration	if undocumented =1 else undocumented=0;
Social Capital	
Number of Family who helped	Continuous variable
Difference in Education	The average of the absolute value of the difference between the education of the respondent and education of each contact.
Difference in Occupation	The average of the absolute value of the difference between the occupational status of during the Last migration of the respondent and occupational status of each contact at the time of helping.
Density	Sum of the relations divided by the number of possible relations (Burt 1983)
Number of contacts	Continuous variable of number of contacts who helped
Got help to migrate	If got help to migrate =1; else =0
Got help to find a job in the U.S.	If got help to find a job=1;else =0
Got help to settle in the U.S.	if got help to settle=1;else =0
Got help to settle and find job	If got help to settle and find a job=1; else =0
Got all three types of help	If got help to migrate and settle and find a job=1; else=0
No. of Friends in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Friends ever in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Cousins in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Cousins ever in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Nephews in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Nephews ever in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Siblings in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Siblings ever in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Uncles in U.S.	Continuous variable
No. of Uncles ever in U.S.	Continuous variable

Appendix A shows the description of the variables used in this analysis where I explore the role of the social capital variables related to the occupational status of the migrants on their

last job in the U.S. Most of the variables are self explanatory. I used the Standard Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (Ganzeboom et al. 1992) to calculate the occupational status during the last migration trip variable. This variable is a continuous variable and its scores range from 20 to 80. The occupational status variable only contains those heads of households whom had a job during the last migration to the U.S., excluding heads who were housewives, students and those who were retired during their last job to the U.S..

The social network variables used in this analysis are: density, difference in education and difference in occupation variables. The density measure was calculated using the formula:

$$[\Sigma_i \Sigma_q Z_{iq}] / [n(n-1)], i \neq q$$

where i and q are actors in an ego network. This formula was computed including the ego. "This formula represents the sum of all relations in the network divided by the number of relations (Burt 1983, pg. 189)." This measure ranges from 0 to 1. When the density measure is used in the regression model as a control variable, the variable of the number of contacts has to also be included in the model in order to adjust the effect of the density measure as it tends to decrease as the number of contacts increases. This happens because the number of possible connections is exponentially increasing as the number of contacts increases.

In order to measure whether the level of heterogeneity among the respondents and their contacts is beneficial or not with respect to migratory outcomes such as, the occupational status of the last U.S. job, I constructed two measures: difference in education and difference in occupation. These two measures were calculated with the following formulas:

Difference in education:

$$\frac{\Sigma_n^{j=1} \left| educ_i - educ_{ji} \right|}{n}$$

Where educ= the number of years of education of each individual, j= respondent, i=each contact,

n= number of contacts.

Difference in Occupation:

$$\Sigma_{n}^{j=1} \left| occup_{i} - occup_{j} \right| \quad / \, n$$

Where occup= Occupational index status score of each individual

j= respondent, i=each contact, n= number of contacts

Both measures were calculated by first subtracting the number of years of education from the each contact to the number of years of education of the respondent. Then after taking the absolute value of each difference, all the differences were divided by the number of contacts.